The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is cele- 585
rated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. [601]
folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient 177
custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship 595
between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not neces-
sary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives of-
ficially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the 593
wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the 171
Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all house- 562
hold matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to 462
refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food sup-
ply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the
fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman,
namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The
honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not pre-
vent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physi-
cal superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ɬra, to the children, /gõ·an, 859
Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She [601]
carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Hanība !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to 854
little children when they sneeze (sĩʃ). In other cases I heard the mother 866
wish the sneezing child "!oɬman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (ᵉ-an
seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited
first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its
helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again
on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then
outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow 855
for its use (ᵉmaĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only 432
milk for itself this one cow, ǂɬbes, mornings and evenings. During the
day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his
milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows [585]
from their parents.

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him *ǂnũ/nõgũ/ŋõatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 283). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: 551 522

*//kxa-naab was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from *//kxan, to forego evacuating the bowels); *//go-res/nõa-tao/a-b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; *ǂho/mõõs, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; *ǂkxõre-b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; *//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called *a-ru//gui-b. The word aru- means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu-i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name *a-mikxoma/gu-ita-raeb, i.e. as one "who has many (/gui) wives (tara-s) just as an ostrich (ami-s) has hens." [568]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," *ǂao-ǂkab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (*//ga/bu-b) over its snout and so he is called *//gabu-ǂkaa-mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Rachydactylus species, *ǂna-nigyemũ/s, another one, because of his stamping gait *ǂnõ-/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man ǂa-batoma ǂnao-b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (ǂa-ba) on the wagon to load it" (ǂna/o).

They called another ǂa-oa/ã-batana-s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana-s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
59 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage
the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

519 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[341] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, 330; Kohler, *op. cit.*, 340; Wanderer, "Khoi-Khoin," 377; von François, *op. cit.*, 102 *sq.*

[2] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schreiner, *op. cit.*, 299–302, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Die Rechte der Hottentotten," 349–51; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 114; Schultze, *Hottentot und Kaffernrecht*, 197, 318; Hoernlé, *Hottentot*, 26.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 98; Hahn, op. cit., 73; Schultze, op. cit., 199; Schinz, op. cit., 62; Wuttke, "Ueber das Familienleben . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Negro Proverbs*, 31–4; *Reports on the Natives of South West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 91 of), 75.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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595 hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friend off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his g sts Her children were better clothed than, and given preference to, thos of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the pat rna inheritance.[1]

Nowadays the Hottentots are ostensibly monogamists. Bu where there are no children to the marriage or only daughters, th custom is still sometimes exercised by which the husband enters int the *sore* relationship with a girl, who becomes his concubine. Thi *sore* relationship in no way debars the girl from subsequently marrying another man, if she wishes to, but her marriage results in the ending of all intimacy. The children born of this relationship remain with their natural father, and have the same rights of inheritance as the
[578] children of a properly-married woman. To the wife the existence of such a relationship is a matter of deep mortification, since it reflects upon her own barrenness, and consequently greatly reduces her prestige. Often, as a result of her jealousy, the girl dare not come into the man's camp, but has to be visited by him at her own home. Olpp states further that many men, when they are absent from home, will be unfaithful to their wives, and may even keep regular concubines in distant kraals. Honourable women, who feel their position damaged, may in such a case leave their husbands, and return with the hut and household property to their parents, until the husband humbly comes to seek pardon.[2]

837 Infidelity on the part of the husband is not recognized as a ground
684 for divorce, nor is adultery on the part of the wife. In the old days, according to Kolb, the Cape Hottentots regarded the latter as a capital offence, punishable by death without further question and without the least regard for the status of the adulterer. The Naman also, according to Kohler's informant, would kill the adulterer if caught red-handed. Otherwise the matter had to be referred to the tribal council, which would fine the adulterer and perhaps order him to be thrashed. It seems, however, that in more recent times at least, the injured husband could altogether overlook the offence, if he wished. Vedder even goes so far as to say that adultery, though regarded as improper, is not subject to punishment.[3]

[1] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 331; Wuttke, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 317; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 342.

[2] Von François, op. cit., 212, 214; Olpp, loc. cit.; cf. Schultze, op. cit., 319; *Report on Natives of S.W.A.*, 77.

[3] Kohler, op. cit., 354; Kolb, op. cit., 71; Wuttke, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 104.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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614 582 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 627 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 621 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartbools even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 592 [595] In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *Loc. cit.*, p.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoã, his subordinate king Gonnomoã, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoã.[30]) The subordinate king Gonnomoã our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[31]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoã, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoã left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Basterds", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamana," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have [46]). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* [47]). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men [48]). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

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a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 292).